

## Message Text

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TO USINT DAMASCUS NIACT IMMEDIATE

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TOSEC 276

E.O.: 11652 :GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PO

SUBJECT: PRESIDENT'S AZORES MEETING WITH PORTUGUESE PRESIDENT SPINOLA- FOR EAGLEBURGER FROM S/S

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF MEMORANDUM FROM ACTING SECRETARY SISCO TO THE PRESIDENT AS CONTINGENCY FOR AZORES MEETING WITH PORTUGAL'S PRESIDENT ANTONIO DE SPINOLA.

YOUR VISIT TO THE AZORES IS A REST AND REFUELING STOP ENROUTE HOME FROM THE MIDDLE EAST. PORTUGAL'S NEW PRESIDENT, ANTONIO DE SPINOLA, ASKED TO MEET BRIEFLY WITH YOU; HE WILL FLY TO THE AZORES FOR A BREAKFAST TALK ON JUNE 19. SPINOLA FEARS THAT THE PRESENCE OF TWO COMMUNIST MINISTERS IN HIS GOVERNMENT HAS CREATED THE IMPRESSION THAT THE GOP IS "LEFTIST" AND DRIFTING AWAY FROM CLOSE RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. AND WITH NATO. HE WANTS TO ASSURE YOU PERSONALLY THAT THIS IS NOT THE CASE AND THAT PORTUGAL SEEKS EVEN STRONGER TIES TO THE U.S. WE EXPECT  
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HIM TO MENTION ALSO THAT HE SINCERELY WISHES TO RESTORE

DEMOCRACY TO PORTUGAL; THAT PORTUGAL DESIRES AN END TO ITS AFRICAN WARS, AND THAT GOP FOREIGN POLICY IS UNDER HIS DIRECT CONTROL. MORE THAN ANYTHING ELSE, SPINOLA HOPES TO RECEIVE YOUR UNDERSTANDING AND PERSONAL EXPRESSION OF SUPPORT FOR PORTUGUESE POLICIES.

YOUR OBJECTIVE: TO ESTABLISH AN ATMOSPHERE OF PERSONAL CANDOR AND CORDIALITY WITH GENERAL SPINOLA WHICH WILL BE

HELPFUL TO US IN THE NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE RENEWAL OF THE AZORES BASE AGREEMENT.

WHAT PRESIDENT SPINOLA WANTS: THE APRIL 25 COUP D'ETAT BROUGHT ABOUT DRAMATIC CHANGES IN PORTUGAL'S POLITICS AFTER NEARLY 50 YEARS OF DICTATORSHIP. THE HATED SECRET POLICE WAS DISBANDED IMMEDIATELY, CENSORSHIP HAS BEEN LIFTED, POLITICAL PARTIES AND INDIVIDUALS ARE GUARANTEED FREE EXPRESSION, AND PEACEFUL STRIKES AND DEMONSTRATIONS ARE NOW PERMITTED. GENERAL SPINOLA ( A MUCH-DECORATED BUT OUTSPOKEN WAR HERO) DID NOT LEAD THE COUP, BUT HIS REPUTATION FOR INTEGRITY AND HIS PAST CRITICISMS OF PORTUGAL'S AFRICAN WARS MADE HIM THE ONLY MILITARY FIGURE OF SUFFICIENT STATURE AND POPULARITY TO BE ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH THE ARMED FORCES AND THE PORTUGUESE PUBLIC. SPINOLA AND THE ARMED FORCES SEEM TO HAVE REGARDED THE PREVIOUS CAETANO/SALAZAR GOVERNMENT AS AN AFFRONT TO PORTUGAL'S HISTORY AND AS AN OBSTACLE TO MODERNIZATION. BOTH SEEM DETERMINED TO END PORTUGUESE ISOLATION IN WESTERN EUROPE, TO MODERNIZE THEIR NATION'S ARCHAIC POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS AND TO DISENGAGE PEACEFULLY AND HONORABLY FROM 13 YEARS OF WARFARE IN THE AFRICAN TERRITORIES.

THE CIVILIAN PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT WHICH TOOK OFFICE IN LISBON ON MAY 16 IS A CAREFULLY BALANCED TEAM OF COMMUNISTS, SOCIALISTS, LIBERAL-CENTRISTS AND NON-POLITICAL TECHNOCRATS. ITS COMPOSITION REFLECTS BOTH A PLEDGE BY THE MILITARY TO INCLUDE ALL MAJOR POLITICAL GROUPS IN THE PROVISIONAL CABINET AND THE REALIZATION THAT TO EXCLUDE ANY IMPORTANT FACTION (E.G THE COMMUNISTS)

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WOULD SERIOUSLY JEOPARDIZE THE PLAN TO RESTORE DEMOCRACY TO PORTUGAL. THE COMMUNISTS HOLD TWO POSITIONS IN THE CABINET A MINISTER OF STATE AND THE LABOR PORTFOLIO AND THEY WILL BE HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR ANY SERIOUS LABOR UNREST. SIGNIFICANTLY, THE ARMED FORCES--PURGED OF OFFICERS NOT SYMPATHETIC TO THE COUP--ARE ONLY NOMINALLY UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT. THE MEANING OF THIS HAS NOT BEEN LOST

ON THE COMMUNISTS WHO, IN RESPONSE TO WILDCAT STRIKES THROUGHOUT PORTUGAL, HAVE BEEN URGING THE WORKERS TO BE PATIENT AND RESTRAINED IN THEIR DEMANDS AND ACTIONS.

SPINOLA IS UNCERTAIN ABOUT OUR REACTION TO THE APRIL 25 COUP. WHILE HE UNDERSTANDS THAT THE NEW GOVERNMENT'S DOMESTIC AND AFRICAN POLICIES ARE MORE TO OUR TASTE THAN THOSE OF THE CAETANO REGIME, HE IS TROUBLED BY REPEATED ACCOUNTS IN THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS ABOUT THE LEFTWARD TREND IN PORTUGUESE POLITICS. IN SEVERAL

CONVERSATIONS IN LISBON AND IN WASHINGTON, THE PORTUGUESE HAVE REASSURED US ABOUT GOP POLICIES AND EXPRESSED A DESIRE FOR EVEN CLOSER TIES WITH THE U.S. THAN EXISTED PREVIOUSLY.

SPINOLA WANTS TO MAKE SURE THAT HIS MESSAGE TO US IS CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD. THAT IS THE PRIMARY PURPOSE OF HIS MEETING WITH YOU. IN RETURN, HE HOPES TO RECEIVE SOME "SIGNAL" OF U.S. FRIENDSHIP AND (FOR THE MOMENT) MORAL SUPPORT. LATER, DEPENDING UPON DEVELOPMENTS, THE PORTUGUESE MAY ASK US FOR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE OR NATO-TIED MILITARY AID.

IN CONNECTION WITH THESE ISSUES, SPINOLA IS EXPECTED: TO EXPLAIN THE TRANSITORY NATURE OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT AND TO ASSURE YOU THAT THE PORTUGUESE ELECTORATE IS BASICALLY CENTRIST IN ITS BELIEFS.

TO REITERATE THAT PORTUGAL REMAINS DEFINITELY PRO-WESTERN IN ITS OUTLOOK AND THAT COMMUNISTS IN THE CABINET AND AN EXPANSION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS AND EASTERN EUROPEANS ARE MERELY NATURAL CONSEQUENCES OF RESTORED DEMOCRACY.

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TO EMPHASIZE THAT PORTUGAL SEEKS, AND NEEDS TIES WITH THE U.S. AS WITH THE OTHER NATO ALLIES.

TO SEEK YOUR SUPPORT FOR PORTUGAL'S EFFORTS TO NEGOTIATE TERMS FOR CEASE FIRE AGREEMENTS WITH THE AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AND FOR EVENTUAL PLEBISCITES. (SPINOLA STRONGLY FAVORS AN INDEPENDENCE REFERENDUM IN EACH OF PORTUGAL'S AFRICAN TERRITORIES. HIS FOREIGN MINISTER DISAGREES, PARTICULARLY IN THE CASE OF PORTUGUESE GUINEA WHERE HE DOES NOT BELIEVE A REFERENDUM IS NECESSARY).

BILATERAL ISSUES: OTHER THAN OUR ATTITUDE AND STYLE

IN DEALING WITH THE NEW PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT, THE ONLY BILATERAL ISSUE IS THE NOW-SUSPENDED NEGOTIATIONS FOR RENEWAL OF OUR BASE RIGHTS IN THE AZORES. THE NEXT MOVE IS UP TO THE PORTUGUESE. WE ARE STILL AWAITING A REPLY TO SECRETARY KISSINGER'S LETTER OF APRIL 11 TO THE FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER. THE PORTUGUESE ARE AWARE THAT THEY OWE US A RESPONSE BUT OTHER, MORE URGENT MATTERS HAVE OCCUPIED THE ATTENTION OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT.

FOR THE TIME BEING, WE BELIEVE IT PREFERABLE TO AWAIT A PORTUGUESE INITIATIVE ON THE BASE NEGOTIATIONS. TO

PRESS THEM NOW GIVES US NO PARTICULAR ADVANTAGE AND COULD BE INTERPRETED AS AN ATTEMPT TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF A NEW, INEXPERIENCED GOVERNMENT. WE DO NOT EXPECT SPINOLA TO RAISE THE BASE NEGOTIATIONS WITH YOU, EXCEPT POSSIBLY TO SAY THERE SHOULD BE NO PROBLEM IN THEIR SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION.

POINTS TO MAKE: TO EMPHASIZE TO SPINOLA OUR PLEASURE THAT OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS NOW SHARE A COMMON BELIEF IN DEMOCRATIC RULE.

TO WARMLY ENDORSE PORTUGAL'S DESIRE FOR EVEN CLOSER TIES WITH THE U.S. THAN EXISTED UNDER THE PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT.  
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TO EXPRESS OUR SATISFACTION THAT THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT INTENDS TO CONTINUE PORTUGAL'S FULL AND LOYAL PARTICIPATION IN NATO.

TO INDICATE OUR SATISFACTION THAT THE GOP IS NOW ACTIVELY ENDEAVORING TO REACH AGREEMENT WITH ITS AFRICAN TERRITORIES AS TO THEIR FUTURE. WE WISH THE GOP WELL IN THIS EFFORT AND HOPE THAT THE OUTSTANDING QUESTION CAN BE SETTLED IN AN AMICABLE WAY.

(IF SPINOLA RAISES THE QUESTION OF THE AZORES BASE NEGOTIATIONS) ASSURE HIM THAT WE KNOW THE NEW GOVERNMENT HAS HAD TO DEAL WITH MORE URGENT PROBLEMS AND THAT-- WHEN THE GOP IS PREPARED TO RESUME TALKS ON THE BASE AGREEMENT--AMB. MCCLOSKEY (THE U.S. NEGOTIATOR) WILL BE PLEASED TO DISCUSS THIS MATTER WITH HIS PORTUGUESE COUNTERPART.

POINTS TO AVOID: YOU MAY WISH TO AVOID DISCUSSING SPECIFICS OF A U.S. QUID IN EXCHANGE FOR THE RENEWAL OF THE AZORES BASE AGREEMENT.

YOU MAY ALSO WISH TO AVOID ENDORSEMENT OF ANY SPECIFIC  
PROPOSALS SPINOLA MAY SUGGEST FOR SELF-DETERMINATION  
IN THEIR AFRICAN TERRITORIES. WE EXPECT FOREIGN  
MINISTER SOARES TO ASK SECRETARY KISSINGER'S ENDORSEMENT  
OF HIS OWN (DIFFERING) VIEWS ON THIS SAME SUBJECT WHEN  
THEY MEET IN OTTAWA. SISCO

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